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11 June 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: [REDACTED]
Director, Office of European Analysis

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1. In accordance with your request we have produced an advance summary version of our forthcoming paper on the Opposition Movement in Poland. [REDACTED]

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2. The advanced Summary itself (attachment 2) was prepared by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] of EURA's East European Division. It has been coordinated with DDO
[REDACTED] as well as with the Acting NIO for Europe [REDACTED]

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Attachment:

1. Talking Points
2. Summary

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Talking Points for DCI On The Opposition in Poland

- Some five years after the imposition of martial law the Polish regime has repeatedly demonstrated that it controls the streets. But it also remains an island in a sea of opposition.
- The active underground has clearly had great difficulties operating against the regime's many instruments of coercion.
 - A number of its members have been arrested -- most recently its most renowned leader Zbigniew Bujak.
 - It is also organizationally fragmented and divided over tactics, divisions which are fostered and exploited by the regime.
- But society's deep-seeded opposition to the regime provides a solid unifying element that has more significance for Poland's future:
 - The millions who boycotted the national elections and the thousands involved in the underground press represent a commitment that we believe will be long term.
 - The active underground is supported by the church.
 - The underground has increasingly foregone strikes and protests to achieve its goal and has focused on educational activities that keep alive the goals of Solidarity and break the regime's monopoly on information. It publishes well over a thousand books and periodicals that influence the way that people think about their history and their socio-political system.
 - The underground's programs have preserved the ties between dissident intellectuals and the workers -- a combination the regime apparently fears most.
- In sum, the underground has turned -- successfully in our view -- to a long-term program to develop the population's social and political self-sufficiency in preparation for the next crisis that the regime's shortsighted policies will almost inevitably bring about.

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**SUBJECT: Talking Points for the DCI on the Opposition
Movement in Poland**

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